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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin*, *misha*, or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *forrerus* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons – and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively unrestricted, rather than inconsistent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoons and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are known of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd references to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant.

The core of most responsible lineages at any funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and ritual role of each of the sponsors. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of ease and dilution. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their *pesamen ni kuxan* (*kuxan pinale*), to which their participation attests.

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the unifying force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally delimited ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen -- those of his lineage and that of his wife -- and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the union of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in mix of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the limits of

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and tribunate the Mapuche; in effect, to destroy the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has punished the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and cross-cutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow settlement lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a settlement.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change – the economy – and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly vuelta mano, the mediero or half-share system, and mingaco.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the sine qua non of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect. In no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, vuelta mano agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are mates. Vuelta mano arrangements, confirmed ceremonially, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

The mediero system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditures. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A shareropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by literal considerations of propinquity but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*ahnenpa*) is matrilaterality.

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The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of enmity. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal enmity. All Mapuche lateral outsiders—consanguines who are not of the locality—are potential enemies. To break the matrilateral pattern, as it sometimes does, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over that bridge established by his mother or other ex-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

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A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay *bridewealth* (*mafuen*: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing*) group, and is willing to do so because of the cost of obtaining a wife from them and the enmity involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage.

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There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

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* When talking to the groom's agnates the term *weñen* is used; when discussing bridewealth with the bride's agnates, the term *wekufuken* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *wekufuken* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The commonly used English terms "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship.

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and the one which must pay for them.' This is expressed in kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (ñidwe: to purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call those whom they pay for wives weke (roughly, material uncle). These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which serves to identify wife-receivers as ñidwe and wife-givers as weke, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and actually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.* The bridprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, gets to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his older kinsmen or sends them in his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

* I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group comes with given to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to entertain dislike with passing, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that unduly adverse powers of little moon practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wife-receiving ones (ñidwe).

* In speaking of bridprice and dowry the Mapuche who went often to local stores. The word for dowry, however, is properly ñi, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving looms, etc., which, in my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a pre-conception phenomenon which took the other form long enough to possess importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some substitutive exchange is necessary for sanctioning the marriage contract (see Faron 1961:101).

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is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

While the transfer of rights over land is the most important economic aspect of the imbelaiwen of bridegiven payment, it is not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social subsidiarity of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a league which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-giver, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the spouses and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's family receive animals from the groom and his family. The special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agnates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as feasts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the bridegiven animals to be slaughtered for the ground ceremonial feasting, during which all those associated groups themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

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While the marriage feast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutun* (derived from *mafon*: bridepriice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of bridepriice. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillentuwgun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*wewpin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affinalship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñillen* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "scniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

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Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of bridepriice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *ewn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *ewn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most participants come from within the region or ritual congregation is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and communication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests have become more diffuse and less related to group membership than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and funeral rites. The great *füllatun* ceremony and the compelling *ewn* observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *fienechen* and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *füllatun* and *ewn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*weza l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *nillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *nillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *nillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *nillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *nillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *nillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Aim

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which usually through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineages and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the preeminence of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most intimately and frequently involved in funeral ceremonies tend to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the ritual congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between the regional congregational expression of *ewen*, affiliation, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this patrilateral correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, there does exist elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the circulation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite.

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *aun*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an inmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups.

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through

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764 602 613 571 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 182 571 613 602 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 602 613 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death. If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [577] [57] *This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [753] On inquiring into the prevalence of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 30 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

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754 678 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (ülmen) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have witnesses in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other consultants merely hire the services of a kalku, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased, since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is tempted of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* thus appear as the most active figures in the context of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to control relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *mishke*, *trafkin*, and *kowchaton*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Mishke*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *mishke* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *mishke*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *kowchaton*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Kowchaton*, a formal and public (during *dillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *kowchaton* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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privileged one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust flows through their closest kinsmen. *Trefkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *mañke* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

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A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

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A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

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that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system comparable to those of a prescriptive system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the ideational construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

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Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

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Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE 1

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (*reñi*)	afterworld (*wenumapu*)
hui hui	*iwen iwen*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

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even well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their obligations providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and protecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and cease to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *nillatufe* the ritual priest (*nillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *nillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *koschotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, true men, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant ones. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant ones for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapuchedom, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer and opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservations. In some cases, where feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name winka, usually reserved for whites.

The asymmetry of gift-giver to gift-receiver is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *konchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *awn* ceremony an example of the obligations associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The